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picturesque were "Parson" Massey, and General Mahone, who bossed rather than guided.

While the cause of the Readjuster Movement was primarily fiscal, the effects were largely social, economic and political. It marked the advent of discussion after the paralysis of the Civil War, and discussion invariably sets free the potential energy of a democracy. "For Conservatism was not only a political party, it was also a social code and a state of mind which bound the whites to united and temperate action." As Dr. Pearson clearly points out, "the Radicalism of reconstruction days and the Readjuster Movement a decade later were both democratic protests against the domination of Conservatism."

The period of Readjuster supremacy lasted for four years, 1879-1883. One-third of the debt was set aside for West Virginia. The total remaining debt for old Virginia was \$21,035,377, which was refunded by the Riddleberger bonds dated July 1, 1882, and bearing 3 per cent interest. As a result the tax rate was reduced from 50 to 40 cents, as also liquor licenses, while "public education received such generous treatment that some feared the ruin of denominational schools." Many other measures tended to subserve the interest of the masses and to break the power of wealth and established privilege. The whipping-post was abolished.

In 1882 it became apparent that Mahone's chief object was to "bind the state and hand her over to the Republicans," while the single aim of the Conservatives was to "redeem the state." With Mahone in the United States senate, "the solid South" was unmistakably broken. "This result was attained by a combination of boss, patronage, and negroes." General Fitzhugh Lee "redeemed" the state in 1885, while Daniel and Barbour soon superseded Mahone and Riddleberger in the senate.

Dr. Pearson's style is forceful, and his treatment is clear and interpretative of a critical period in Virginia history.

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Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890. By A. C. MILLSPAUGH. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series xxxv, No. 3. Pp. 189.)

Until very recently the field of Michigan political history has been little cultivated. Indeed, until the publication in 1912 of Miss Har-

riette M. Dilla's *The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878*, nothing had been produced so good as Judge James V. Campbell's *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan* (1876), which is in fact as well as in title a mere sketch of the general history of the state. This dearth is reflected in the paucity of references to monographic literature in the present volume.

Mr. Millspaugh, as a native of Michigan, has done a good service in calling attention to Michigan, and the central states in general, as a field for doctoral work in politics and government.

"My study," the author says, "is an attempt to contribute to the satisfying of what is believed to be a real need in applied political science. It is confined to one state, and states differ in their internal conditions and in their legislative experimentation; but I believe there is nothing so peculiar in the conditions and legislation of Michigan that its experience may not be accepted as fairly typical of the experience of many other states."

In the introduction he reviews briefly the social, economic, political and religious conditions in Michigan as a general background affecting the form and workings of party organizations, and then takes up in succession party committees, primaries and conventions (1890-1904), direct primary legislation, the committee system under direct primaries, direct nominations in operation, and campaign management and finance. The author concludes that "although the great national party organizations continue quadrennially to persist and to function with apparently almost undiminished vitality, an examination of party activities in Michigan and within its lesser political subdivisions reveals striking and significant changes."

In the discussion of these changes lie the contributions of the volume, albeit essentially local; yet as an epitome of Michigan experience, the discussion is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of state party organizations and state electoral machinery. From time to time, similar studies of scholarly workmanship appear in various states dealing with the operation of the direct primary—and although none of these perhaps necessitate any radical recasting of ideas on the subject, all taken together may later form the basis of a general work of much value.

Probably the most valuable chapters of the thesis are those on direct nominations and the management and financing of campaigns. They reveal clearly and interestingly the numerous and complicated reactions of parties to legislation and other conditions, and the various

symptoms of the unmistakable weakening of party solidarity in Michigan. These chapters show, or at least suggest, how complex the electoral process really is, and how in the end its results are a product of various interacting factors. They strengthen the belief, which is already quite general, that the problem of the electorate is a proper subject for comprehensive and detailed investigation, rather than for "snap" judgment of timeworn platitudes.

In his study of primary and election expenses, Mr. Millspaugh has used a great mass of statements. In this particular, Michigan afforded a special advantage. There are very few other states which have available statements of election expenses dating back to 1892. He has gone into the subject of campaign finances rather fully, and has made a considerable contribution to the study of bipartisanship, controlled precincts, and their relation to independent voting. Of much interest is the relating of Michigan's experience with interparty interferences in the primaries.

A formal bibliography is not given, but the essential materials consulted are to be gathered from the numerous references in footnotes. The Detroit and Grand Rapids newspapers appear to have been pretty thoroughly used since 1890, also the available state and local public documents; but the insight which the author shows into the actual inside workings of party organizations suggest that he probably has a personal acquaintance with the minds of some of the leading politicians of Michigan in the period. The work has a good index.

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Constitutional Conventions: Their Nature, Powers and Limitations. By ROGER SHERMAN HOAR. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 240.)

This work of eighteen chapters is a careful and thorough discussion from a legal standpoint, of the origin, nature and underlying theory of state constitutional conventions. It includes a list of cases, a few references, a good index and a final chapter giving a summary of the conclusions reached.

The book discusses in general the relation of the convention to the executive, the courts, the legislature and to the electorate as the representative of the people. The author's main thesis is that the people are sovereign, that a constitution is a contract between the people